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ABSTRACT

The fundamental conflict in the intellectual history of Alaskan education originated in the work of Father John Veniaminov (1797-1879) and Sheldon Jackson (1834-1909), both visionaries and missionaries to Alaska, both educators and founders of schools. The major distinction between them was in their radically differing attitudes toward religion and culture in general, and toward Alaska Native language and culture in particular. Father Veniaminov (later Archbishop Innocent and Saint Innocent) placed tremendous value on education and Native language literacy in the Russian Orthodox missionary effort in Alaska, encouraged Native-born clergy and founded bilingual schools. Sheldon Jackson arrived in Wrangell in 1877, when things were far from genteel; his method was basically the establishment of mission schools as "Protestant Forts" to protect Natives. Jackson came to believe that only through massive acculturation could the Natives be Christianized and therefore spared the military havoc of Native Americans in the lower 48 states. Thus the basic conflict in Alaskan education was and is between those who insist on a link between Christianity and American language and culture, and the influence of Father Veniaminov, who rejected the idea that Christianity is linked to a specific language and culture. A 6-page update concludes the document and calls attention to additional relevant works that in some cases will require eventual minor changes in the text. (MH)

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CONFLICTING VISIONS IN ALASKAN EDUCATION

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Occasional Paper No. 3.

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CONFLICTING VISIONS IN ALASKAN EDUCATION

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As an English teacher, I am concerned with the intellectual history of our profession. Some of our detractors may consider this a contradiction in terms. Some of our students may be startled to learn that we have an intellectual history, or lay claim to one, and some of our colleagues as well may be surprised to discover that we have one.

What follows is a segment of the intellectual history of our profession as educators in Alaska, and English teachers in particular. I call the paper "Conflicting Visions in Alaskan Education."[1] It is about the life and work of two men: John Veniaminov and Sheldon Jackson. Their careers were remarkably parallel. Both were visionaries and both were missionaries to Alaska. Each, at the time of his death, occupied the highest position in his church. Both were educators and founded schools. Herein lies the major distinction between the two men: their radically differing attitudes toward religion and culture in general, and toward Alaska Native language and culture in particular. What is happening today in Alaskan education is a direct result of the outcome of that conflict.

In short, we do have an intellectual history as teachers of English in Alaska, and our situation today is directly related to the events of the previous century.

Pre and post tests are popular these days. I won't give you a post test, but I would like to start with a little mini pre test, a little

evaluation of the collective cognitive domain, as it were. There are four questions:

1) When, where, and by whom was the first bilingual school in Alaska opened?

   Answer: 1824, in Unalaska, by Fr. John Veniaminov. The languages of instruction were Russian and Aleut.

2) When, where, and by whom was the last Aleut bilingual school closed?

   Answer: About 1912, St. Paul Island, by the U.S. Government.

3) How many of you knew this?

4) Why not?

Why don't we know these things? We are all English teachers in Alaska and this is basic information. Why don't we know it? There are two good answers for starters: this information was first suppressed, and then long forgotten. As we all know only too well, for all the course work the educational establishment requires, little or nothing has much if anything to do with the realities of our teaching in Alaska. But, I will not go into the growth and development of the educational establishment in the United States in this talk. On a nation-wide basis, that phenomenon is absolutely and directly related to what happened in Alaska. To put Alaska in national perspective is a topic for another time and place; for now, we will stick close to home in Alaska.

Father John Veniaminov (1797-1879)

In sticking close to home, we start by going to Siberia, to the small town of Anginskoe in the district of Irkutsk, where the child, John Popov, was born on August 26, 1797. The boy's father died when he was six, and

his uncle took over the responsibilities of raising him. In 1806, he was enrolled in school, which consisted of a five-year preparatory program followed by seven years of seminary. In 1814, all persons in the area with the name of Popov were requested to adopt new surnames because there were too many Popov's and record keeping was getting difficult. John Popov accepted the special honor of receiving the name Veniaminov, after the late Bishop Benjamin (in Russian, Veniamin).

John Veniaminov was extremely intelligent and talented. For example, he learned how to build clocks, first by himself, and then with a local clockmaker. He excelled in his studies.

In 1817, he married and was ordained a deacon. In 1821, he was ordained to the priesthood. In 1823, he accepted the invitation to go to Alaska, and with his family, arrived in Unalaska on July 29, 1824.

Enroute, they wintered in Sitka from 1823 to 1824 and his journals record his first work with the Aleut language, which he started to learn from bilingual helpers in Sitka. There also, he planned the church in Unalaska and had the wood cut and sawed.

In 1824, he arrived in Unalaska and in 1825 built the cathedral there. Veniaminov was a tremendous scholar and proceded to keep notes over the next ten years. These were published in 1841 and cover geology, botany, anthropology, meteorology, and other sciences.

His major thrust was in education. He opened a bilingual school in which Aleut and Russian were taught. With Ivan Pan'kov, an Aleut leader, he designed the Aleut alphabet and the two men worked on translation of scripture. Both Pan'kov and Veniaminov were influential in spreading

literacy in Aleut. By 1840, he had translated and published several books in Aleut, and had composed some original Aleut works. He was not alone in this. Other clergy were translating and Aleuts were undertaking creative writing in Aleut.

In 1832, he kayaked to Bristol Bay and Nushagak. In 1834, he was transferred to Sitka and spent the years 1834-1838 in Sitka as a priest. In 1836, he travelled as far as the Russian colony at Fort Ross. During his Sitka years he devoted much attention to the Tlingit language, worked on a writing system, and on translations. He is recorded as having prepared bilingual textbooks for Tlingit children with his own hand, with parallel texts in the Russian and Tlingit languages.[2]

A contemporary view of Fr. Veniaminov is provided by the British Captain Edward Belcher, Commander of HMS Sulphur, which visited Sitka in September of 1837. Belcher was very impressed with the church. Father Veniaminov,

> "who officiated in his splendid robes, was a very powerful athletic man, about forty-five years of age, and standing in his boots (which appear to be part of his costume) about six feet three inches; quite Herculean, and very clever. I took a very great liking to him, and was permitted to examine his workshop, in which I noticed a good barrel-organ, a barometer, and several other articles of his own manufacture. He was kind enough to volunteer his services on one or two of our sick barometers, and succeeded effectually. Notwithstanding he spoke only Russian, of which I knew nothing, we managed to become great allies."[3]

In 1838, he returned to Russia, via Hawaii, Tahiti, and Cape Horn, arriving in St. Petersburg in 1839, where he met with company headquarters, the holy synod and the Tsar. One purpose of his journey was to lobby for additional support for the mission and for the publication of books in Alaska Native languages.

In November, 1839, he received the sad news that his wife had died in Siberia. Assured that his children would be cared for in the finest schools, Father Veniaminov agreed to become a monk and be elevated to Bishop. He entered the monastic order in November of 1840 with the name of Innocent, or Innokenty, after the famous missionary Bishop of Irkutsk, St. Innocent. A month later he was consecrated Bishop of Kamchatka, the Kuriles and Aleutian Islands, and in September of 1841, arrived in Alaska.

His Sitka years as Bishop were characterized by more education, building and travel. He designed and supervised the construction of St. Michael's Cathedral in Sitka, laying the cornerstone in 1844, and seeing it consecrated in 1848. It was primarily a local project made with local wood. The Bishop himself made the clock. In the meantime, the Bishop's residence had been built, with Bishop Innocent himself making much of the furniture, including the organ.[4]

In November of 1845, the Petropavlovsk Seminary in Kamchatka was relocated in Sitka as the New Archangel Seminary. It opened with 54 students, three teachers and a library. Twenty-three of the students were Native. The curriculum included six years of Alaska Native language: Aleut, Yupik and Tlingit. Also, included in the curriculum were three years of Latin, three years of medicine, and other subjects. The seminary remained in Sitka for 12 years, and in 1858 was transferred to Yakutsk, to strengthen the missionary effort in that area. (In the meantime, as Bishop of this enormous area, Innocent had travelled the area and worked on the languages. Soon the Native people of Siberia had a higher literacy rate than the Russians living there.) In 1850, Bishop Innocent was elevated to Archbishop

and transferred to Yakutsk. There he did much of the same work that characterized his Alaska effort, including translating scripture into the Yakut language. On July 19, 1859, he read the Gospel in the Yakut language for the first time.

In 1867, two important things happened in Church history: Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow died and Alaska was sold to the United States. The following May, Archbishop Innocent was appointed Metropolitan of Moscow --the highest position in the Russian Orthodox Church. At this time he was 72, nearly blind, and extremely weary, but he undertook his new position with as much vigor as his old age permitted.

In March, 1879, at the age of 81, he passed away. The final chapter in his biography was written nearly a hundred years later. On October 6, 1977, he was officially recognized and canonized as a saint of the Orthodox Church, equal to the Apostles, the enlightener and apostle of America.

From this biographical overview, we can get some idea of the tremendous value placed on education and native language literacy in the Russian Orthodox missionary effort. The great strength of the church in Alaska and elsewhere was the Native born clergy. For example, Yakov Netsvetov was an Aleut born in Atka, where he served as a priest from 1828 to 1842. In 1842, he was transferred to the Central Yupik area, and there designed a writing system for Yupik, and translated the first Church books into Central Yupik. Netsvetov was not only bilingual in Russian and Aleut, but he learned Yupik as well. He is primarily known as an author and translator of Yupik books, but he also wrote some Atkan texts, and is probably the author of an anonymous Russian/Aleut dictionary--the largest Alaska Native language dictionary of the 1800's and one of the largest ever.

Literacy was important, and we have biographies and bibliographies for over a dozen Aleut writers of the 19th century. An estimated 1/6 of the population was literate. Much of this is documented in my paper, "The Spiritual Epiphany of Aleut."[5]

Everything was not beautiful in Russian America. When Fr. Veniaminov came on the scene in 1824, it was not rosy. The Russians had first landed in the Aleutians in 1745, and initiated an unchecked era of massacre and rape. From 1780 to about 1820 things improved, but were still characterized by enslavement and exploitation. The first missionaries arrived in Kodiak in 1794. They lost no time in protesting the conditions to which the Natives were subjected, but it was the monks who got in trouble with the authorities, rather than the offenders. After 1820, things improved: the church became a positive force; slavery and mistreatment came to an end; and the great literary achievements of the 19th century began.

I cannot go into detail here about education in Russian America prior to the arrival of St. Innocent. The Russian American Company was interested in profits from furs and little else. However, the company did establish schools, and they seem to have been good ones, emphasizing bookkeeping, navigation, and other technical skills to enable natives to participate in management of the colony.

I would rather talk a few moments about the philosophy of the Russian Orthodox Church that gave rise to the phenomenon of Aleut popular literacy and writing in the 19th century.

A fundamental concept of Eastern Orthodoxy is that man is created in the image and likeness of God. This is not to be taken as a sexist and

anthropomorphic view of God--i.e., that God is for practical purposes created in the image and likeness of man. Rather, each person is born with the imprint of divinity.

This view is capsulized in a famous saying in Orthodox tradition by St. Anthanasius that God became man so that man might become God. In other words, each person contains within him or herself the potential of divinity. In this respect, Eastern Orthodox Christianity, in my opinion, has much more in common, both in theory and practice, with Zen Buddhism than with Christianity as developed, practiced, and promulgated in the Western tradition.

This fundamental concept of Orthodoxy directly influences the Church's official view of human dignity and respect for the individual. Specifically, the Orthodox tradition maintains great respect for the language and culture of the individual. The Orthodox mission has traditionally used the language of the people. One of the first tasks of Saints Cyril and Methodius, early missionaries to the Slavs, was to design an alphabet and translate the liturgy and scriptures. The modern Russian alphabet is called cyrillic after St. Cyril.

Likewise, the first project of the Russian Orthodox mission in the Aleutians was to design a writing system and to translate scriptures and liturgy into Aleut. This effort was eventually accompanied by establishment of schools to train, among others, lay readers, who play an important role in helping conduct Orthodox Church services. Aleut remains to this day one of the official liturgical languages of the Orthodox Church in Alaska, as are other Native languages such as Central Yupik, Sugcestun Aleut, and

Tlingit. From the very beginning, use of the vernacular was encouraged, and today, on an average Sunday or Feast Day, you will hear the Divine Liturgy and other services sung in combinations of English, Church Slavonic, and one or more of the Native languages of Alaska, depending upon the ethnic composition of the congregation. The actual success of popular literacy in the Native languages seems to have depended upon the personal dynamics of the religious community including the clergy and laity. Thus, vernacular traditions were and remain marginal or non-existent in Tanaina and Upper Kuskokwim but developed into a luxuriant full bloom in Aleut.

In other words, there is no attack in Orthodoxy on the basic worth of the individual. There is no attack on a person's language. Rather, the Church sought to instill a sense of pride in the Native language and foster popular literacy in it. Because competency in two languages was stressed, it should come as no surprise that Aleuts had the first bilingual schools in Alaska.

This was the world view of the Orthodox Church, and this was the picture of education underway in Russian America at the time of the sale of Alaska in 1867. It continued relatively intact through the following "years of neglect" to about 1884. This was the Orthodox vision of education in 1877 when Sheldon Jackson stepped off the boat in Wrangell.

Sheldon Jackson (1834-1909)

In physical contrast to John Veniaminov, whom one writer called "Paul Bunyan in a cassock", Sheldon Jackson was barely over five feet tall. He suffered from weak eyes and frequent illness, but was famous for his energy, drive, and determination. He was a "go-getter" and a hard worker. Ted Hinckley describes him as having "a personality and philosophy that matched

those of John Calvin himself, Sheldon Jackson hated sin and loved work." (113)[6]

He was born in New York State on May 18, 1834, graduated from Union College in Schenectady, New York in 1855, and was ordained and married in the same year. Also, in 1858, he started his missionary career in a school for Choctaw boys. From 1859 to 1869, he was in Minnesota, spending the summer of 1863 as a chaplain in the army. In the years following 1870, he was active in the Board of Home Missions, blazing a record of church founding from the Canadian border to the Rio Grande, and looking for new territory. In 1877, he visited Alaska for the first time, in his words to "establish the Protestant Church in Alaska." (As a point of historical record, however, others have pointed out that the Lutheran Church was already well established in Alaska during the Russian American period. There was a large population of Finns in Sitka, and Governor Etolin was himself a Finnish Lutheran.)

Before taking up the details of his Alaska work, I will first conclude this brief summary of his life. He liked to be called the "Rocky Mountain Superintendent," but in 1883, sold his home in Denver and moved to Washington, D.C., from which base he was very active and quite powerful in Alaskan politics. From 1882 to 1884, he worked in New York as the Business Manager for the Board of Home Missions. In 1884, he came to Alaska as Superintendent, and in 1885, he was appointed first Superintendent of Public Instruction for Alaska, in which capacity he served until the end of his life. As we shall see shortly, the year 1884 is pivotal in Alaskan history, and Sheldon Jackson was exerting considerable leverage in the events of that period.

He was responsible for the opening of many schools, among them Sheldon Jackson School, dating from 1878 which became a college in 1968. The Dictionary of American Biography capsulized his efforts nicely: "After many hardships his educational and industrial plans were approved, financed, and set in operation." One of these plans was the introduction of reindeer herding in Northwest Alaska "to replace wasted and lost food supplies of earlier days, and to set the Eskimos in the way of self-improvement." (Again, the Dictionary of American Biography.)

In May, 1897, he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church--the highest honor and pinnacle recognition the Church can confer. He died in Ashville, North Carolina on May 2, 1909, shortly before his 75th birthday.

Having followed Sheldon Jackson's career in overview, let us return with him to Wrangell in 1877 and take a more detailed look at some of his goals, methods, and experiences.

In order to appreciate some of Jackson's concerns, we must remind ourselves what Alaska was like in the years following the transfer. From all accounts, it was far from genteel, and most historians agree that the white population was composed of the lowest rather than the highest elements of society. It was a rough-and-tumble environment that attracted an inordinate number of "hard-cases."[7] In 1867, the United States was broke, tired of Western land scandals, Indian wars, and expensive army heroes. In 1877, the U.S. Army withdrew its troops from Alaska, leaving neither martial nor civil law and government. There was tension. The Tlingits

asserted their civil rights by tearing down the stockade segregating them from the rest of Sitka and the whites were afraid. There was an increase in street fighting and random killings. In 1879, an English warship "came to the rescue" of Sitka, and 1879-1884 became the period of Navy Rule.

Into this scene stepped Sheldon Jackson. He had four goals:

1) to avoid the Indian Wars and reservation system of the lower 48 states, with its built-in poverty and corrupt civil servants;

2) to educate and convert Natives,

3) but at the same time protect his school graduates from exploitation by merchants and other members of the white society; and

4) to ban or control the manufacture and sale of liquor.

The Navy assisted the Presbyterian efforts. Commander Beardslee assisted in control of bootlegging and bad whiskey. Beardslee was succeeded by Commander Glass, famous as a truant officer who tagged each Indian student and thus regulated and enforced attendance at school. Glass also goes down in history for publicly shaving a Tlingit Shaman's head and scrubbing him down.

As the years wore on and schools were built and wars unlikely, the Presbyterian concern became more and more twofold: to protect Native women from the military, miners, merchants, and other elements of the white male society; and to control the flow of cheap rotgut whiskey that was devastating entire villages.

Sheldon Jackson's method was basically the establishment of mission schools as "Protestant Forts" to protect the Natives. He conducted a massive public relations campaign including lecture tours and articles

in periodicals. Ted Hinckley writes:

> "His first Far North field worker, Widow Amanda McFarland, soon won an audience that none could have predicted... Jackson employed Victorian sentiment emblazoned by both printer's ink and platform histrionics. Mrs. McFarland's toils to impart Christian teaching to a group of Indian girls in the midst of lascivious Wrangell prospectors took on heroic proportions. Jackson described her privations before women's auxiliaries from Iowa to Boston. It was not only Alaska's native pagans who challenged Americans, but their white brethren as well. The night before the Wrangell miner, John Boyd, was "jerked to Jesus"; he heard all about "his savior" from a robust and ever so earnest Christian lady. As the Presbyterian missionary, Mrs. Amanda McFarland, later recalled, "Twice in the night...he sent for me. He was then in great distress....He had not heard a prayer for twenty years until I prayed with him."....As he warmed to his cause, and as he really began to understand his adopted land, Jackson discovered that the McFarland melodrama symbolized something immensely greater. The real melodrama was Alaska." (118-119)

As we watch the melodrama of Alaska unfold, one theme crystallizes: for Sheldon Jackson religion was inseparably linked with culture--specifically the American culture of his age. Again, I would like to quote from Ted Hinckley:

> "Before long he saw the Wrangell mission as only a means to an end: the Christian elevation of Alaska's population. Because the great bulk of the District's residents were aboriginals, this meant primarily evangelization of the Natives.
>
> In company with thousands of other nineteenth century Christian field workers, Jackson had come to realize that unless native peoples could acquire a rudimentary grasp of the white man's civilization, Christianization must fail." (115)

Conceptually, I believe this to be the most important single part of Sheldon Jackson's philosophy: only through massive acculturation could the natives be Christianized and therefore spared the military havoc of Native Americans in the lower 48 states. He may have been right. My own present

understanding of Calvinist Christianity is that it seems inseparably linked to secular developments in Western culture, language, literacy and economics. I need to research this further, and won't speculate any more on it here. Rather, I would like to contrast this Presbyterian view of religion and culture with the Orthodox view.

Certainly the Presbyterian goals were admirable. The basic principle of sewing wild oats is to do it in someone else's grain field. It has been a traditional priority for clergy of all denominations to protect native populations--women in particular--from abuse at the hands of the white male lower stratum of society. In this respect the Orthodox missionaries clashed head-on with the Russian entrepreneurs, as did the Presbyterians with the American ones.

Both the Russian Orthodox and the American Presbyterians were interested in Christianization. Christians everywhere seem to have a missionary zeal paralleled perhaps only by Islam. Their goals may be partly the same, but in method there is an immediate parting of the ways. For the Orthodox, religion is not linked inseparably to culture. There is a clear difference in interpretation of the "great commission" given in Matthew 28:19: "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you."

From the Orthodox point of view, the question of religion and culture was settled in Apostolic times, as recorded in Acts. Peter, Paul, and other apostles hotly debated the question of Jewish dietary laws, the issue of circumcision, and other features of Hebrew culture. There was considerable ethnic tension in the early Church. (See Acts 10, 15, 18, etc.)

Peter's nightmare-like vision about non-kosher food is vividly recorded. The conclusion was that a convert did not have to become a Jew in order to become a Christian. We should treat this decision as a major turning point in Church history; it is one of many such events that allowed the early Church to develop into a religion of universal scope. For the Orthodox, the issue is clear: one does not have to abandon or change his or her culture or language to become a Christian. This is reflected in the history of the Orthodox Church; missionaries have traditionally used the language of the people. Greek was the language of the early Church; Russian became the language of the Russian Church; Aleut became the language of the Aleut Church; and Yupik became the language of the Yupik Church.

It has always interested me that four churches in Alaska have been most supportive of Alaska Native language work: the Orthodox, Moravian, Catholic and Episcopal Churches. One possible explanation for this is that these are liturgically based churches, in which membership is not culturally bound.[8] This contrasts to the social unit as the base of many Protestant churches, with emphasis on group membership as determined by shared cultural background, especially common language and common attitudes toward community customs. Thus, from the Orthodox point of view, one can be socially, linguistically, and ethnically different from other members of the church locally, nationally or world-wide and still participate in the liturgical fullness of the church through receiving the Sacraments. This does not seem to have been an option for Sheldon Jackson in particular, and his colleagues of the era in general.

I should note here that the outlook of many Protestant missionaries

has changed since the late 19th and early 20th centuries. See for example, Christianity Confronts Culture by Marvin Meyers, where the point is reiterated that a Nigerian need not become a middle-class white American to become a Christian.

This, then, was the basic conflict in vision between Sheldon Jackson and the Presbyterians who insisted on a link between Christianity and American language and culture; and Fr. John Veniaminov and the Orthodox missionaries who theologically rejected the idea that Christianity is linked to a specific language and culture.

Alaska became a battleground between these conflicting visions of education. Before bringing the battle and its impact up to the present day, I would like to elaborate more on Sheldon Jackson, giving an example of how he solidified his power in Alaska.

The scenario goes like this: for fifteen-plus years since the purchase, the U.S. Government ignored Alaska. The resulting pressure from the Alaska lobby for civil government finally resulted in the Organic Act of 1884. Sheldon Jackson was a major power in the Alaska lobby, and a major contributor to the writing of the legislation, along with Representative Benjamin Harrison. On July 4, 1884, President Chester Arthur appointed John Kinkead as the first governor of Alaska. In April of 1885, Sheldon Jackson was appointed by congress as the first District General Agent of Education. His office remained in Washington, D.C.

Complicated by a number of factors too complex to go into here, hard feelings soon broke out between Sheldon Jackson and Governor Kinkead. Some of the highlights of the dispute are:

1) Sheldon Jackson distrusted miners, and they didn't like him; but Kinkead wanted to build on them.

2) Sheldon Jackson wanted Native place names removed and Presbyterian names used instead; Kinkead disagreed and favored Native names.

3) Kinkead advocated licensing to control liquor; Sheldon Jackson wanted the territory dry.

4) As might be expected, the Orthodox Church, for which Jackson had no use whatsoever, gave its support to Kinkead against Jackson.

The Orthodox had profound philosophical differences with the Presbyterians, and on the practical level, were clearly aggravated by large scale "sheep stealing," and the removal of children from their families and culture for the purpose of Christianization. (See note 11 for the Russian view).

The conflict came to a head in contention over the operation of schools. Alaska's new District Attorney and District Judge questioned the legality of Sheldon Jackson's policy of requiring parents to sign papers giving their children over to the school for a period of five years. When Jackson came north, the 30 year old Cheechako, Judge McAllister, threw him in jail on a trumped-up charge. This was a politically disastrous move.

William Cleveland (a Presbyterian minister and brother of President Grover Cleveland) and John Eaton (Commissioner of Education, also Presbyterian) paid a visit to the White House, and on May 7, 1885, Cleveland appointed Alaska's second Governor, A. P. Swineford. The moral of the story is not to take on Sheldon Jackson. He was thoroughly in power in Alaska, and with him the concept and policies of English-only curriculum, with attendant active suppression of Alaska Native language and culture.

In the Organic Act, Jackson had killed the proverbial two birds with one stone: he had combined his proposals for civil government and his proposals for Alaskan education into a single act. Among other things, it called for "proper provision for education of children of school age.... without reference to race." (Hinckley, 156). Sheldon Jackson set up day

or public schools in conjunction with the mission. These were designed to be integrated, but under pressure from the white community, Sheldon Jackson retreated and started a separate Native public school. With this, segregated schooling began in Alaska, and the territory had the start of the parallel school systems that exist to the present day.[9]

The schools established by Jackson were openly unconstitutional, violating the separation of church and state. This was recognized, but defended on the following grounds:

1) Precedent was set by President Grant of mixing federal funds and denominational revenues for reservation schools.

2) The major Protestant churches tacitly accepted the Jackson/Presbyterian coordinate role in Alaska.

3) The need was felt for immediate action to address Alaska's social needs.

Thus, Sheldon Jackson shaped the first American education system in the territory of Alaska. A large number of his teachers were missionaries, and he succeeded--until the mid 1890's--in getting federal support for mission schools, despite constitutional restrictions, on the grounds that the only teachers who could be recruited were missionaries. The Presbyterian Church paid Sheldon Jackson's salary until 1907.

Sheldon Jackson's power base was firmly established in Alaska, both politically and philosophically. Philosophically, the critical feature was insistence on English only as part of the connection between Christianity and American civilization.

I would like to give a few examples of policy statements that shaped Alaska Native education. The first is from the February, 1888 issue of

The North Star published in Sitka, edited by Sheldon Jackson and William A. Kelly.

> The Board of Home Missions has informed us that government contracts for educating Indian pupils provide for the ordinary branches of an English education to be taught, and that no books in any Indian language shall be used, or instruction given in that language to Indian pupils. The letter states that this rule will be strictly enforced in all government Indian schools. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs urges, and very forcibly too, that instruction in their vernacular is not only of no use to them but is detrimental to their speedy education and civilization. It is now two years and more since the use of the Indian dialects were first prohibited in the training school here. All instruction is given in English. Pupils are required to speak and write English exclusively; and the results are tenfold more satisfactory than when they were permitted to converse in unknown tongues. (Library of Congress, F901, N87, The North Star, Sitka, Alaska, Volumes 1 to 8, 1887-1897. Editors: Sheldon Jackson and Professor William A. Kelly.) (FAR-6/2/1924)[10]

In contrast, there is no evidence at all that Russian was ever forced upon Alaska Natives at the expense of or to the exclusion of their own language.[11] Obviously, there was Russification, and many Natives learned Russian (some still speak it fluently), but the educational policies were bilingual.

For a devastating account of ethnocentrism in Alaska Native Education, see: Glenn Smith, "Education for the Natives of Alaska: The Work of the United States Bureau of Education, 1884-1931;" Journal of the West, 6:3 (July, 1967) 440-450. The following are from pages 442-443 of Smith. I will identify his sources in the body of this paper.

> The underlying rationale of the bureau's activities in Alaska was essentially that of Kipling's "White Man's Burden." Sheldon Jackson described it as "the gradual uplifting of the whole man", and of course this included Christianizing every man. For Commissioner Harris, it was civilizing the barbarous. "We have no higher calling in the world", he told Julia Ward Howe, "than to be missionaries of our ideas to those people who have not yet reached the Anglo-Saxon frame of mind."

The excerpt is from a letter of January 22, 1901 from Commissioner Harris to Julia Ward Howe. Focus is clearly cultural. Also, Jackson and Harris both believed that the best way to elevate the Natives of Alaska was to make them economically indispensable to the white man:

> If the Natives of Alaska could be taught the English language, be brought under Christian influences by the missionaries and trained into forms of industry suitable for the territory, it seems to follow as a necessary result that the white population of Alaska, composed of immigrants from the States, would be able to employ them in their pursuits, using their labor to assist in mining, transportation, and the producing of food.

Smith's source is the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the years 1896-1897. (Washington, 1898-Volume I., page xliv.)

> "When the Native has thus become useful to the white man.... he has become a permanent stay and prop to civilization, and his future is provided for."

Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1903: Report of the Commissioner of Education. (Washington, 1904. page lxvii.) Smith continues:

> "Such altruism was not hard to sell....During the early years, instruction in the English language took precedence over everything else because this seemed basic. Teaching English was very difficult since the teachers and the pupils could not understand each other and there were no suitable textbooks to help. To overcome this difficulty, Commissioner Harris ordered all teachers to "take with them such books of literature as portray in the most powerful form the ideas and convictions of the people of England and the United States." The works of Shakespeare, Dickens, Walter Scott and their like, he added, "furnish exactly the material to inspire the teacher and to arouse and kindle the sluggish minds of the natives of Alaska with sentiments and motives of action which lead our civilization."

Smith's source for the quoted material is William Torrey Harris's "Memorandum on Alaskan Text Books." Typescript apparently undated but between 1899-1906.

The above are official policy statements and quotes from policy makers. Unofficial sources such as teacher and missionary memoirs reflect their classroom attitude. In 1914, the missionary, Livingston Jones, wrote that "The Tlingit language is doomed to speedy extinction, the sooner the better, for the natives. There is little in their language to merit perpetuation."[12]

Other opinions of Jones are worth including here because they are not as dated as one might think. They show lack of understanding of phenomena Jones was observing at the time, and illustrate clearly the American attitude toward Native language and culture. He states that Tlingits "have no written language. Their totemic emblems are the nearest....to it." (page 35) Jones observes however that somehow the language does get passed on orally, and concedes that somehow "the native is never at a loss to express himself in his own tongue," (page 37) although Tlingit "lacks abstract words" (page 39) and scarcely a sentence is spoken "in which a peculiar and distressing gutteral does not appear." (page 39)

Jones offers four justifications or rationalizations to legitimize the extinction of Tlingit.

1) The Natives are shut up on their own language without access to literature.

2) The Native language is useless for communicating with Whites.

3) Tlingit is inadequate for widening intellectual horizons.

4) With English, the Indians will get away from old, degrading customs.

It is not necessary to debate the merit of these arguments here. I would only note that the <u>bilingual</u> option is never raised as a viable alternative -- i.e. to <u>add</u> English to the Native language and strive for

dual competence. For Jones, Tlingit is a "stunted and dwarfed language" (page 41) and "nothing retards the progress of a people so much as to be held to a language fit only for barbarians." (page 41) This is, of course, a kind of linguistic Darwinism, and it is ironic to recall that the term "barbarian" referred to, among others, our own linguistic ancestors.

I have cited Jones at some length to bring these examples to light and show the degree to which they conflicted with the Russian education and missionary effort. I will conclude with three opinions of Jones that absolutely clash with the philosophy of St. Innocent as manifested in his life and work. Jones writes:

> No encouragement to hold on to their language should be given by missionaries and teachers....The best way of elevating them is to make them climb up to us. (page 41)
>
> It would be folly to attempt to reduce the Tlingit to writing and ask the natives to learn it. (page 42)
>
> There is little in their language to merit perpetuation. (page 42)

Such were the attitudes faced by Alaska Native students in American classrooms at the turn of the century; such attitudes are still alive and well in many classrooms today. The conflict is as alive in the 1980's as it was in the 1880's.

Another teacher in Southeast in the 1920's was O. M. Salisbury, whose memoirs are published in a book with two different titles, depending on which printing you have: Quoth the Raven (Superior, 1962) or The Customs and Legends of the Tlingit Indians of Alaska (Bonanza, New York, no date but later than 1962). Here are some teacher-attitude excerpts from Salisbury. At the risk of overstating the obvious, I want to spend a few minutes on them because these attitudes are still alive and well in some places.

Salisbury writes:

> It is already very clear to us that their language is wholly inadequate to express much in the way of abstract thought, or to communicate the fine distinctions of shades of meaning; and probably it is both cause and effect that their very limited thought has made an elaborate language unnecessary. (page 62)

Please take my word for it, as a person who has been trying to learn Tlingit for over 15 years, that Tlingit is quite elaborate and more than adequate for expression. If I had more time, I could analyze such comments and scientifically prove that they are inaccurate, racist, and culturally biased. Another quote:

> We are making no effort to learn the Indian language--we are here to teach them ours--but it makes it difficult to get proper results when the native tongue is always talked at home. I have urged with the people, whenever I have a chance to talk to them in public, that they should help their children to learn the American language by making them talk it at home. (page 64)

> But though I make no effort to learn the Indian language, I am interested in learning about it. Because of the very restricted life they lead, their language is very simple and very meager. The words are usually monosyllables, or, when grouped, each syllable has a separate significance. (pages 64 and 65)

As English teachers, we should be aware that this attack on Tlingit applies to English as well: "We are here in this room. I like to eat. It was a good meal." -- all one syllable words. Compare "I eat food." and "I am eating food." Each syllable, when grouped, has a separate significance. But even Salisbury is forced to admit that:

> Limited as their language is they always manage to express themselves in their own tongue to one another, even though the same expression may be used in various different connections. (page 65)

At this point, some of you may be thinking "get off it" or "get on with it." But I really "get off on this stuff"--getting on Salisbury's case, and wondering where he gets off." I think that you get the point:

"get" is such a nice word; you can use it "in various different connections."

Finally, Salisbury concludes that "the language has been handed down orally from generation to generation--probably for hundreds of years." Salisbury may think--as many people do--that he learned English from a book. I suspect he learned it the way the rest of us did--from our parents between birth and the age of five, at which time we started to become literate.

I should mention here that the Presbyterians were not without their scholars and translators. Willard and Kelly wrote a fine Tlingit grammar by the standards of the day, and there was some hymn translation.[13] The point is, however, that this seemed to have no effect on educational policy as fostered by Sheldon Jackson and others, and as followed out well into the 20th century and even up to the present day in some places.

I would now like to return to the Aleut situation because it is the clearest and best example of the battle of conflicting visions. In the first part of this paper, we left the Aleuts with a thriving language and flourishing literature. There were numerous Gospel translations and essays. People kept journals and diaries, and were writing to each other in Aleut. Around the turn of the century there was even a trilingual newspaper published in Unalaska, with articles in Aleut, Russian, and English. As is footnoted elsewhere in this paper, Sheldon Jackson himself noted in 1886 that one-half of the population of Unalaska was literate in Aleut. This was the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic ideal established by Fr. John Veniaminov and the educational policies of the Orthodox Church in Russian America. This Russian Orthodox philosophy clashed head-on with the American Calvinist philosophies. There is no better example in Alaskan educational history than the Aleut experience.

The trouble with Aleuts was that they never fit the stereotype. The American missionaries were set on Christianizing and educating. When they met the Aleuts, they discovered highly literate Christians, with a long-standing tradition of Native clergy. Unfortunately, it was the wrong kind of Christianity and the wrong alphabet.

Education reports from the Pribilof Islands in the last quarter of the 19th century complain of lack of students' progress in learning English, and also their total lack of interest in learning English. Blame is put on the Russian and Aleut languages in general, and on the Church School in particular.

American education suppressed both Russian and Aleut. Because they were written in the same alphabet, Americans had trouble telling one from the other. There are numerous accounts of physical punishment for speaking Aleut. Mouths were taped, knuckles rapped; one teacher used to swab students' tongues with a stinging solution. Even adults were verbally reprimanded for speaking Aleut in the presence of whites.[14]

Here are some examples from the reports:

July 30, 1881

Progress...not rapid as heretofore....a Russian school has been kept by a subpriest.

July 31, 1887

Native children are stupidly dull....(The parents) would not send a child to school if not compelled by the treasury agent to do so.

1890

"Little progress....Next to no progress....No interest in English...."

1890

It seems incredible but it is true that young men and women who have

been to school here for several years do not know how to speak or read a sentence of the English language....It was long suspected that the older people secretly influenced the children against American schools and encouraged them to learn the Russian language in preference to any other but I find that they are just as ignorant of Russian as they are of English, and as backward in learning it.

There has been one day of each week devoted to the Russian school, which, in my opinion, has a bad effect upon the children in their attempt to master the English tongue, and I, therefore, respectfully suggest that the practice of teaching Russian to the school children be abolished. (page 236)

November 1, 1891

One of the most serious obstacles in the way of American schools has been and is now, the demand made by the church that all her children learn Russian so as to understand the church services. Consequently, a great deal of time is wasted in teaching or attempting to teach, the children two languages:....It is not that the average Native child is dull or stupid, for he is not, but is because the child never hears English spoken except what he hears in the school. (page 292)[15]

June 19, 1892

....after more than twenty years of Government control there were not a half dozen Natives who had learned to speak or read the English language by attendance at the public school, and so long as the present system is followed, failure can be predicted with absolute certainty. (page 309)

June 10, 1892

I am of the opinion that there is small probability of these people acquiring such knowledge of the English language so long as they hear nothing but the Aleut language out of school hours, and so long as the services of their church are conducted in the Russian or Aleut language, and their communications with the representatives to the leasees of the islands is largely in other than the English language.

Complete control of the Pribilof Islands was assumed by the U.S. Government in 1910, at the end of the twenty-year lease to the North American Commercial Company. Aleuts were classified as "wards of the Government." There was a dual system of laws, salaries, and benefits:

one for whites, one for Aleuts. Aleuts were required to do labor in the seal harvest, but were paid in food. The ration amounted to less than the minimum requirements.

Everything was related to sealing. Teachers were not trained teachers, but selected as sealing supervisors and storekeepers. Teaching was a secondary duty.

The government campaign to discourage the use of Aleut and to punish students for speaking Aleut in school increased in the early 20th century. About the year 1912, the U.S. Government completely shut down the Church School for a number of years.

On October 10, 1916, the Aleuts presented a petition to the Government. Items two and five were freedom to speak Aleut when they desired, and freedom to re-open the Church School.[16]

The kind of pressure described above was put on all Alaska Native languages and peoples, with devastating results. The legacy has been one of linguistic insecurity. Generations of teachers have convinced parents that Native languages will result in stupidity and difficulty in learning English. Unfortunately, the battle still rages; we are fighting the same issues we fought 100 years ago. We have the results of English-only education in Alaska, and frankly I don't think the results are much to write home about. Irreparable damage has been done to the mental health of the Native community and individual. As a teacher, I have to deal with the impact of this every day, and it makes me angry.

Irreparable psychological damage has been done not only to the Native community but nation-wide to the white community as well. Take a look

at the president's report on foreign language study for some devastating economic, political, diplomatic, and military examples of the results of English-only education nation-wide, the suppression of bilingualism and the phasing out of foreign language study.[17] Let me again report that the Alaska case is only one bitter example of nation-wide policies of the last hundred years: Teddy Roosevelt and the educational charge up San Juan Hill.[18]

Let me close with some rhetorical questions. What kind of government and educational system takes a culture highly literate in its own language and deliberately procedes to eradicate both the language and the literacy? What kind of government and educational system shuts down church schools by force? What kind of government keeps an entire population as slave labor on rations below its own minimum government standards?

The obvious answer is us. As Pogo once said, "we have met the enemy and he is us."

I believe the conflicting visions of the 1870's and 1880's are still in conflict. This conflict remains an open sore in Alaskan education of the 1970's and 1980's.

I don't want to close on a note of guilt or blame. Guilt leads us nowhere. I'm not pointing the finger at anyone. I would rather close on an optimistic note of professional responsibility. As teachers of English, we inherit a teaching situation not of our making. It is a complex situation but it is one over which we do have some personal control. As English teachers, we are dealing with infinitely complex socio-linguistic factors. It is our responsibility to understand them, to address them seriously, and in all their complexity. As English teachers, we each

operate in a very intricate language community. It is our responsibility to understand our own language and its interaction with other languages in the community. Unless we begin to do this, we will only recycle the frustrations of the last hundred years. Unless we really understand our language and how we use it in the cultural context, we will never really be teaching English--we will only be teaching a lot of prejudice about English, which is what I think we've been doing for a couple of hundred years.

FOOTNOTES

1. This paper was originally presented at the annual meeting of the Alaska Association of Teachers of English Conference, Bethel, Alaska, October 27, 1979, and represents my understanding of the subject as of that date. I am still researching Russian educational theory in the Russian period, and the connection of Calvinism with Anglo-American culture.

2. Reverend A. P. Kashevaroff, "Ivan Veniaminov, Innocent, Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna," Orthodox Alaska, Volume VI, Number 4 (October, 1977) p. 13. Reprinted from Alaska Magazine, Volume 1, Number 3 March, 1927) and Volume 1, Number 4 (April, 1927).

   Church records and old lesson plans from Russian Orthodox schools in Southeast Alaska villages show that the bilingual tradition continued through the 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, in both Killisnoo under Father Ioann Soboleff, and in Juneau under the Tlingit Seminarian and choir conductor-Church School teacher, Eli Katanuk, literacy was taught using the Cyrillic script, but writing Tlingit words. In other words, they were teaching Tlingit literacy. Thus, the Church School was tri-lingual (English, Russian, Tlingit) which made it very different from the American schools of the period which forbade the use of Tlingit. My thanks to Sergei Kan for calling this example to my attention.

3. Richard A. Pierce, "Alaska's Russian Governors: Ivan Kupreianov," Alaska Journal, Volume 2, Number 1 (Winter, 1972) pp. 23-24.

   This description is also cited, with slightly different wording, by Rev. Kashevaroff (1927 and 1977) p. 12. Belcher's account is also included in:

   > R. N. De Armond, Early Visitors to Southeastern Alaska, Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, Anchorage, 1978, p. 147.

   The account by Sir George Simpson also describes Bishop Innocent. Simpson could not "refrain from rendering a small tribute of praise to his character and qualifications" and comments on his power of mind and body. (page 179)

4. There is some problem concerning the origin of the bells, and of bell-casting in Sitka. Some popular tradition holds that the Russians at Sitka cast bells for local use, and for the missions in California. This does not seem borne out in fact. The Orthodox Cathedral bells were cast in Moscow and are thought to be a gift of the Tsar. These bells were melted in the fire which destroyed the building. One bell, crude and mishapen, is presumed to have been cast in Sitka in 1811, but was not in use due to its poor tone. It, too, was destroyed in the fire. I am grateful to Robert De Armond for these helpful comments on the Sitka bells.

5. This paper is in a sense a companion piece to my "Spiritual Epiphany of Aleut," in which I trace the development of Aleut literacy in some detail. Unlike that paper, however, I have tried to keep my notes to a minimum here. Please refer to the "Spiritual Epiphany" for further reading on Orthodoxy, the life of St. Innocent, and Aleut literacy in general. See:

   Orthodox Alaska, Volume VIII, Number 1 (January, 1979) 13-42.

6. Ted C. Hinckley, The Americanization of Alaska, 1867-1897, Pacific Books, Publishers, Palo Alto, California, 1972.

   Hinckley provides a very readable account of the period, with much information on Sheldon Jackson. Further page references to Hinckley will be given in the text.

7. Jackson arrived in Wrangell in 1877. As an interesting historical footnote to the era, Wyatt Earp arrived in Wrangell twenty years later in 1897, and served as Duputy Marshall for a week or ten days. According to his wife, Josephine Earp, "Wrangell was another Tombstone. It was full of boomers, con men, gamblers, ladies of the night, gunmen, pickpockets, and all sorts of flotsam from every corner of the earth." The Earps returned to California, but, after losing a baby, headed north again. Bound for Dawson City, they wintered at Rampart on the Yukon River in 1898-99, ran a canteen at St. Michael in 1899, and finally a saloon in Nome in 1900 at the height of the Gold Rush. For more on this sidenote on Alaska history, see:

   Terrence Cole, "Wyatt Earp in Alaska," Alaskafest (January, 1980) pp. 31 ff.

8. I am indebted to Professor Frank Roth of Sheldon Jackson College for discussion on this point, and suggestion of the liturgical basis.

9. By noting a few major dates we can trace this situation down to the present. In 1901, congress withdrew support for Alaska schools. In 1905, the Nelson Act permitted local communities to assume control of public schools. This applied to whites only; specifically, "to white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life." Natives continued to attend government schools.

   In 1912, a second Organic Act provided machinery for territorial government, and all educational activities were handed over to it, except for Native education. In 1917, the U.S. Bureau of Education was relieved of its educational responsibilities in Alaska for all but Native people. In 1924, Native Americans were made citizens, but Federal Courts still held that Alaska Natives were not "civilized."

   In 1930, the start of gradual transfer of BIA schools from federal to territorial control began. This gave the state three school systems:

local city schools, BIA schools, and territorial schools. Significant transfers continued in the 1940's and early 1950's, but were halted in 1954, presumably in connection with Brown vs. Board of Education, which decision struck down the "separate but equal" statutes. 1972, with the Hootch case, passage of Alaska's bilingual education act, and establishment of the Alaska Native Language Center brings us close to the present. Senate Bill 35, signed into law on June 9, 1975, brings us into the present. The Alaska State Operated School System was dissolved, reconstituted as the Alaska Unorganized Borough School District for a one year interim, and in turn dissolved on July 1, 1976 in conjunction with the creation of twenty-one REAA districts.

For more on the history of the development of parallel school systems in Alaska, see:

David S. Case, The Special Relationship of Alaska Natives to the Federal Government, The Alaska Native Foundation, Anchorage, 1978.

David H. Getches, Law and Alaska Native Education, CNER University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1977.

Louis Jacquot, Alaska Natives and Alaska Higher Education 1960-1972: A Descriptive Study. Alaska Native Human Resources Development Program, Publication Number 1, July, 1974.

Michael E. Krauss, Alaska Native Languages: Past, Present, and Future. Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers, Number 4, Fairbanks, 1980.

Krauss provides the best general introduction to date to Alaska Native languages. Pages 13-24 and 92 ff. cover the languages treated in this paper. The book as a whole gives the prehistory of the languages, and describes the continuing impact of American education, especially since 1910, that drove most Alaska Native languages down the path of extinction, beyond the point of no return. He also discusses recent missionary efforts (Summer Institute of Linguistics-Wycliffe Bible Translators) to counteract the Jackson tradition.

Finally, I should note in conjunction with the establishment of Government mission schools, that Sheldon Jackson divided the Alaska territory into spheres of influence. The Orthodox Church was totally excluded. The Baptists got Kodiak Island and Cook Inlet; the Episcopalians got the Yukon and Lower Arctic coast; the Methodists the Aleutian Chain; the Moravians the Kuskokwim; the Quakers got Kotzebue; the Congregationalists got Cape Prince of Wales; and the Presbyterians got Southeast Alaska and the Northern Arctic coast. The Jesuits moved into the Yukon in the 1890's.

10. Library of Congress, F 901, N 87, The North Star, Sitka, Alaska, Volumes 1 to 8, 1887-97. Editors: Sheldon Jackson and Professor William A. Kelly. FAR 6/2/1924. Fourth page, first column.

I am grateful to Professor Michael Krauss for calling this to my attention. Krauss (1980, op. cit.) also provides very interesting new information on this subject. Krauss (pp. 22-23) suggests that one of the initiators of the anti-Native language policy, perhaps even before his colleague, Sheldon Jackson, was S. Hall Young. Writing in his autobiography for about 1880, Young makes the following very clear statement:

> One strong stand, which so far as I know I was the first to take, was the determination to do no translating into the Thlingit language or any other of the native dialects of that region. When I learned the inadequacy of these languages to express Christian thought, and when I realized that the whites were coming; that schools would come; that the task of making an English-speaking race of these natives was much easier than the task of making a civilized and Christian language out of the Thlingit, Hyda and Tsimpshean; I wrote to the mission Board that the duty to which they had assigned me of translating the Bible into Thlingit and of making a dictionary and grammar of that tongue was a useless and even harmful task; that we should let the old tongues with their superstition and sin die--the sooner the better--and replace these languages with that of Christian civilization, and compel the natives in all our schools to talk English and English only. Thus we would soon have an intelligent people who would be qualified to be Christian citizens.
>
> The Board moved, at first slowly and afterward strongly, in the direction of this recommendation. They relieved me from finishing the task I had begun of translating the Bible. Our ideas were adopted in other missions. When the Sitka Training School, afterwards called the Sheldon Jackson Institute, was built, English was the only language used on the premises, and always at Fort Wrangell from the first we had made and enforced this rule. To our stand in this regard more than to any other one thing is due, I believe, the exceptional progress of the Southeastern Alaska natives in civilization. (Krauss, p. 23)

In this excerpt, we see Young voicing the thinking of the founders of the Alaskan educational system regarding their Native language policy; but also, Young reveals that the Presbyterian Church's policy itself was originally pro-Native language, like the Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Moravian, and Episcopal Churches, but was altered radically

under the influence of people like Young and Jackson.

Elsewhere in his book, Krauss (page 97) shows how strong the English-only policies remained in 1968. Attempts to permit the use of Native languages in school programs were met with firm refusal. "It would undermine the authority of the teacher," said the Alaska Commissioner of Education in 1968.

These policies remain in 1980. For example, the BIA schools are technically exempt from federal and state bilingual legislation, although of an estimated 4,000 children who speak Native languages, an estimated 3,000 are in BIA schools. (page 76) Bilingual teachers are often prevented from achieving positions of authority by regulations prohibiting certified teachers from working as bilingual teachers. The bilingual teachers can only be subordinate aides, not the actual authority figure in the classroom. (The children certainly get the message.) If they become certified teachers, they are no longer qualified, or are "overqualified", for the position of bilingual teacher, and may then teach only in the conventional English-only way. (pages 80-81)

11. For the Russian American period, in fact there is much evidence suggesting reinforcement of Native language and culture, to the exclusion of the Russian, lest the Western education alienate Natives from their own culture. For example, Governor Kupreianov made Netsvetov dismiss four orphaned Aleuts who were in school supported by the local Company Office, and put them in charge of Chief Nikolai Dediukhin, of the independent Aleut village of Amlia, so that the young men would re-learn their own life style.

The Russian bilingual ideal is reflected in the lives of the Netsvetov brothers. One was a priest, another a shipbuilder in Sitka, and another a navigator serving as first officer on a circumnavigating vessel. All were bilingual, considered Atka their home, and visited as often as possible. I am grateful to Dr. Lydia Black for discussion on this point, and for providing the example cited in this footnote, and for suggesting leads for further research in education of the period.

Sheldon Jackson himself noted the high level of education among the Aleuts, noting that one of the best physicians in the Russian American Company was an Aleut, and that the best accountants were Aleut. See:

> Sheldon Jackson, Education in Alaska, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1886. (page 15)

Sheldon Jackson was a friend and associate of Richard Pratt, who founded the Carlisle Boarding School, and upon whose notions Jackson modeled the Alaskan Indian Education system. The Pratt notion is in turn tied to the 19th century Anglo-American ideology of society, grounded in

Darwin and Spencer, with evolution viewed as a parallel process in biology, psychology, and society. Such thinking is still basic in our world view, gives us concepts of "progress," "development," "underdeveloped," "developing," and "emerging" nations, and leads us and others around the world to view the modern industrialized western world (with its ecological, economic, and spiritual disasters) as the high point of human achievement toward which all other nations should aspire. "Primitive society" reflected a degree of primitiveness on this evolutionary scale, and hence the capacity for education of different races was different. Natives, therefore, were to be trained in the Anglo-American pattern, but for low-level manual positions in the labor force. The entire development of education for Alaska Natives and all Native Americans in the 19th and 20th centuries needs to be examined in the context of intellectual and ideological history.

In Alaska and elsewhere in the United States, the first decade of the 20th century put the seal on the tomb of bilingual education. The following excerpts from an address to the U.S. Senate by Albert J. Beverage on January 9, 1900 (Congressional Record, 56th Congress, First Session, pages 704, 708, 711) demonstrate the evolutionary concept in foreign policy as well as domestic education.

> We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world....God has not been preparing the English speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing....No!....and of all our race he has marked the American people as His chosen nation to fianally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, and all the happiness possible to man.

12. Livingston F. Jones, A Study of the Tlingits of Alaska, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1914. Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York, 1970, page 41.

    Jones is also the author of a romanticized and racist book called "Indian Vengeance", (Stratford, Boston, 1920) the frontice piece of which is a photograph of a Tlingit woman with the caption "The Chilkat Klootch."

13. There are three major Presbyterian efforts extant:

    A. William H. R. Corlies and Tillie Paul, 1885. Gospel Hymns with the Lord's Prayer Translated into the Tlingit Indian Language of Alaska. Philadelphia, n.p. Newberry Library, Ayer Collection. 22 pp.

This is the only known American missionary text in Tlingit for 80 years. Tillie Paul was a Tlingit religious and educational leader. These are the original translations of many of the versions that appeared in hymnals published in 1960 and 1963.

B. Matilda K. Paul, 1896, "At the Cross." The Alaskan (Sitka), October 24, 1896, page 2, column 3.

This is one of many hymns translated by Tillie Paul, and a very popular one. Like the Orthodox hymns, the Protestant hymns, once translated and sung, entered the oral tradition and became popular among countless singers not literate in Tlingit.

C. William A. Kelly and Frances H. Willard, 1905. Grammar and Vocabulary of the Tlingit Language of Southeastern Alaska. U.S. Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1904, Chapter X, pages 715-766. Reprint, Seattle: Shorey Book Company, 1971.

Willard, like Tillie Paul, was a Native speaker of Tlingit. Although soon superseded, the effort was quite good for its time.

There were also some Native teachers, although little is known about them. Among them were Louis Paul and Louis Shotridge. According to Emma Marks, a student of Louis Paul, he was very compassionate and would speak to the children in Tlingit, explaining the concepts to them. Explaining concepts to children in the language they know best is the philosophical basis of bilingual education. It is important to note how effective and satisfying it was for teacher and student, and that it was also counter to the directives of the Commissioner of Education.

14. For this and other information on the Pribilofs, see:

Barbara Torrey, Slaves of the Harvest, Tanadgusix Corporation St. Paul Island, February, 1978.

The following excerpts are from:

David Starr Jordan, Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska. Reports on Conditions of Seal Life on the Pribilof Islands by Special Treasury Agents in Charge, and Others, from 1868-1895. Washington; Government Printing Office, 1898.

My immediate source for the excerpts is:

> Alice Taff, "Some Features of Pribilof English" unpublished manuscript, 1978, Appendix A, pp. 72-78, wherein Taff cites Jordan.

At this point, I would like to make reference to a recent article by Joshua Fishman, "The Significance of the Ethnic Community Mother Tongue School: Introduction to a Study," NABE Journal, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Spring, 1979) pp. 39-47. Fishman points out that some 5,000 ethnic community mother tongue schools exist in the United States today, that some 1,200 are all-day schools, and that many trace their origins to prior to the American Revolution. (p. 41) He also points out that bilingual public schools existed in many Northeastern and Midwestern urban school districts up until World World I, and that "the Commissioner of Education regularly comments upon them favorably in his annual reports to Congress as conducive to adjusted, healthy, literate, and patriotic citizens." (p. 40) These reports for white, European-American schools (Fishman cites L. Viereck, "German Instruction in American Schools," in Report to the Commissioner of Education for 1900-01. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902) sharply contrast those excerpted in this paper for the Native-American Aleut schools. The racism is clear.

15. There is the following report from December 3, 1891 (Taff, p. 77: Jordan, p. 271):

> The native priests can neither speak nor write a word of English, and it would seem as if the Greek church was opposed to that language being spoken on these islands, for they persist in sending priests to the islands who can speak the Russian language only.

Although the reporter overlooks the fact that the Aleut priests were traditionally literate in Aleut and Russian, the complaint of non-English speaking priests is legitimate. St. Innocent immediately recognized after the sale of Alaska that English was the new lingua franca, and in fact urged recall of non-English speaking Russian priests and replacement of them with priests who could speak English. He also recommended ordination of American-born, English-speaking priests, and the use of English as a liturgical language. His philosophy remained bilingual, urging the use of English and the Native language, in contrast to the English-only policies of the Americans. Note, however, the underlying truth in the report: everybody but the U.S. Government agent seems to be happy with Aleut and Russian: only the teacher spoke English and was monolingual. This scenario was to be repeated in every village in Alaska. For

St. Innocent's recommendations, see:

> Bishop Gregory (Afonsky), A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska (1794-1917), Kodiak, 1977, p. 75. Also in Orthodox Alaska, Volume VI, Number 2, (April, 1977) pp. 7-8.

16. Torrey, page 113. Please note this chapter of Slaves of the Harvest was written by Agafon Kurkoff, Jr. Torrey and others are only beginning to expose the brutality of the Federal Government in its treatment of the Aleut people.

17. Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability: A Report to the President from the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979.

18. I agree with Krauss (1980, op. cit.,) who writes:

> I view the obliteration of Alaskan Native Languages by English as an unnecessary final tragic chapter in the continuing conflict in American history, the "winning of the West." The physical genocides of the nineteenth century were replaced in the twentieth by cultural genocide in the classroom: "Cowboys and Indians" moved into the schools, and extermination and removal were replaced by assimilation. (p. 54).

UPDATE TO "CONFLICTING VISIONS"

Without altering the body of this working paper, I would like to call attention to recent or additional work that puts these "conflicting visions" is a wider context, and that in some cases will require eventual minor changes in the text.

1. Peter Haskell, "American Civil Religion." Concern. Vol. IX (1974) pp. 1, 4-9. Fr Haskell offers a brief intellectual history of American "civil religion" based on the "American way of life" as it derived from the immigrant experience and the Calvinist founding of a New England, a conscious rejection of pre-reformation Christian culture and tradition, the ideas of Rousseau (via Thomas Jefferson), the U.S. Constitution, the Civil War, Lincoln, and other events and figures in American history. In civil religion, education becomes a moral issue. Haskell's article helps explain the immediate American context of the world view that clashed so violently with Orthodoxy in Alaska. A revised edition of this paper would include more discussion of and references to work on the concept of Civil Religion in America.

2. Joshua Fishman (Yeshiva University). "Whorfianism of the Third Kind: Ethnolinguistic Diversity as a Worldwide Societal Asset." Unpublished paper. Fishman's work helps set the Russian Orthodox and American Protestant philosophies raised in "Conflicting Visions" in a European historical context. Discussing the work of Benjamin Lee Whorf and Johann Gottfried Herder, Fishman traces and contrasts Eastern and Western Christian

attitudes toward "little languages." In the East, the right to one's own language was considered a God-given asset; in the West, the assumption was that one would "outgrow" one's native language in favor of the spiritual and intellectual benefits of Latin as an international language. The Eastern Church believed in Bible translation into the vernacular languages, whereas the West did not. For Alaska, because of the importance of the Moravian mission on the Kuskokwim and their contribution to Yupik Eskimo literacy and language survival, the "Moravian Connection" is interesting. The Orthodox were the first missionaries to Moravia, and translated scripture. Later, under Franco-German domination of Central Europe, the Orthodox were expelled, the Western Church established, and Bible translation forbidden. Not by coincidence, it may well be argued, did the Reformation start in Moravia with Hus, well before Luther, and in connection with Central European ethnic identity. In Alaska, the Moravians were consistent with their tradition and were active Bible translators, whereas the Presbyterians, whose spiritual ancestors were burned at the stake over the issue of Bible translation, denied Bible translation to Alaska Natives.

3. Ivan Illich. Shadow Work. Marion Boyars. Boston. 1981. Shadow Work is an outstanding intellectual history of Western Europe, analyzing the erosion of "vernacular" language values and the rise of government control of language and publication through artificially created "standard" languages, the grammars of which can be mastered only in schools operated by paid professionals. An exciting book, this provides another piece in

the puzzle of the conceptual background of what was being played out in Alaska and elsewhere.

4. The recent work of Fr Michael Oleksa of Alaska Pacific University is unearthing unbelievable treasures in the histories of the Alaska Native people, and in the history of education in Russian America. In his "Orthodoxy in Alaska: The Spiritual History of the Kodiak Aleut People," St. Vladimir's Quarterly, Vol. 25, No. 1 (1981) pp 3-19, and in "Three Saints Bay: The Cultural History of Kodiak Island," (Unpublished manuscript), Fr Oleksa traces the rise of Aleut leadership in middle and upper management levels in Russian America. He has assembled an impressive list of over 70 Church people alone who, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, received some form of higher education either in Alaska, San Francisco, or Russia. For the earlier period he has a dozen biographies of Creole (half-Native, half-Russian) graduates who studied in Russia and returned to the colony in leadership positions as navigators, naval architects, cartographers, artists, teachers, musicians, priests, etc. These include a major-general in the Russian army and provincial governor in Siberia. It is needless to point out, in contrast, that to date probably no Native American has made major-general in the United States military, and that in the American period the native teachers were replaced (only recently) by teacher's aides, nurses by nurse's aides, etc.--what Vine Deloria has called the "Tonto mentality." This native intelligentsia--by Russian standards and law citizens of the Empire--was considered "uncivilized" by the Americans, and was destroyed or driven

underground. Because of their Russian names, even though they are full or half Native, their contributions have been overlooked in Alaska history. Those persons who advocate bilingual education policies can point to such achievement by Native people. If their counterparts are lacking today, it is not the fault of the Alaska Native people, but of 100 years of educational policy with a conflicting philosophical and spiritual base.

From the research of Fr Oleksa, it is becoming clearer that the Veniaminov era was the culmination and flowering of a world view and educational policies well underway before his arrival. Therefore I should state here that in the present working paper, I have clearly underestimated the role of St. Herman and the 1794 mission in education. It would now seem that, in fact, an unbroken history of Orthodox bilingual education existed on Kodiak Island from the 1790's into the 1960's, sustained originally as Russian government and Church policy, and more recently as a Church school activity in conflict with secular education.

It is now clear that the 1794 mission was operating bilingual schools, though the "paper trail" is not as clear as for the later schools. Hieromonk Gideon had up to 100 students in his school, and the bilingual schools were paralleling the bilingualism that was the norm for the homes on Kodiak and probably in villages in other areas. Even earlier, the full-blooded Kodiak Native Osip Prianishnikov studied in Russia, and was both linguistic and cultural interpreter for St. Herman and the other monks. In 1804, Hieromonk Gideon compiled at Kodiak Aleut grammar with the assistance of the Creole Paraman Chumovits.

5. There is another massive chapter in Aleut cultural genocide that I have not mentioned in the body of the paper: the World War Two internment of the entire Aleut population. In summer 1942, the Aleuts were given 24 hours notice or less, ordered to pack one bag of clothing only, and were removed by ship to internment camps in Southeast Alaska for the duration of the war, even after Japanese invasion was no longer a threat.

The Aleuts suffered great loss of life and property. Some of the property was religious. For example, the U.S. Navy used one chapel for target practice, and the Army desecrated another for use as a generator shed. The Orthodox Cathedral at Atka was burned by the Navy along with its entire contents of 18th and 19th century (and perhaps earlier) religious art from Russia, and the works of local Aleut icon painters and writers.

For an excellent history of the Pribilof Islands from about 1870 to 1970, see: Dorothy K. Jones. A Century of Servitude: Pribilof Aleuts under U.S. Rule, University Press of America, Washington, D.C. 1980. See also testimony presented at the hearings held in Anchorage and Aleutian and Pribilof communities, September, 1981, gathered by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 726 Jackson Place, NW, Suite 2020, Washington, D.C. 20506.

6. For a recent biography of Bishop Innocent, see: Paul D. Garrett, St. Innocent: Apostle to America, Crestwood, NY, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press. 1979.

7. A coda of two final notes will restate--perhaps over-

state two main points: that Russian America is neglected or overlooked in Alaska history, both educational and otherwise; and that the battle over bilingual education continues after 100 years.

In a recent call for papers circulated in March, 1982, for an "Education in Alaska's Past" Conference to be held in Valdez, October 1982, the word "pioneer" is mentioned five times in ten suggested topics, yet there is no suggestion that education existed in Alaska prior to 1867.

I am writing this update on Friday, March 19, 1982. In yesterday's Anchorage Daily News an article appeared reporting that the president of the six million member national PTA opposes bilingual education, arguing that it should be used only to teach English to students; but she conceded that maintenance bilingual programs are acceptable if desired by local districts.